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**An Ismā‘īlī Thinker on  
Abraham and Moses’ Recognition of  
the Earthly and Celestial Hierarchies 2:  
Translation of  
the *Kitāb al-Is̄lāh*  
by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī  
16-(2)**

Shin Nomoto

**Introduction**

This article provides the translation of the second half of the fourth segment or the section (*faṣl*) from the chapter entitled “The Chapter on Ishmael and Isaac” (*Bāb al-Qawl fī Ismā‘īl wa-Ishāq*) from Part Three of the *Kitāb al-Is̄lāh* (*The Book of Correction*) by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. ca. 332 A.H./933-4 C.E.), a Neoplatonist-influenced Ismā‘īlī thinker from the 4th c. A.H./10th c. C.E.<sup>1</sup> This study is the second

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1 The critical and printed edition of the *Kitāb al-Is̄lāh* appeared as: Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Is̄lāh*, ed. Ḥ. Mīnūchihr [and] prepared for publication by M. Mohaghegh with an English introduction by S. Nomoto (Tehran: Institute of Islamic Studies, Tehran Branch, McGill University; University of Tehran, 1377 A. H. Sh/1998 C.E). When the text of *al-Is̄lāh* is referred to in this article, the pagination of this printed edition is followed. In addition, I have consulted the following two manuscripts: MS Hamdani, Institute of Ismaili Studies, London (referred to as H); and MS Tübingen Ma VI 327, University of Tübingen (referred to as T). The second half of the segment translated in this article is found in: al-Rāzī, *al-Is̄lāh*, pp. 192-196/ H ff. 97r -99r/T. ff. 97r-99r. As for MS H, I am most grateful to the late Professor Abbas Hamdani (Professor Emeritus at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

half of the 16th segments in a series constituting the English translation of the entire text of *al-Iṣlāḥ*.<sup>2</sup> The segment translated in this study is interrupted by a long lacuna in the text and divided into two portions.<sup>3</sup> Reflecting this division, this 16<sup>th</sup> segment in the present translation series consist of two sub-sections as follows: the first subsection was already published<sup>4</sup>; the second, a portion of the text after the lacuna, is dealt with in the present article.

The present, second subsection is continuous in terms of content, as already mentioned.<sup>5</sup> However, the story of Moses is not discussed in this subsection. Instead, al-Rāzī develops his exegetical interpretation of the story of Abraham mainly in verses 6: 80-83 and 2: 158 from the Qur’ān.<sup>6</sup> In the second subsegment of this section

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whose passing away in August 2019 we mourn for with deep sorrow) for his generous permission to use the MS, which was then, originally in his collection, and to Dr. Paul E. Walker (Lecturer and Deputy Academic Director of Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago), for his kindness in reproducing for me his photocopy of the MS. For the references to the life and works of al-Rāzī, see the works cited in note 1 in the introduction of our 5th sequel of translation of the text of *al-Iṣlāḥ*, “An Ismā’īlī Thinker on the First Enunciator-Prophet 1: Translation of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 5,” *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 41 (2010): pp. 71–95.

2 All the articles of this project have been published in *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 34 (2002): pp. 97-152; 35 (2003): pp. 105-131; 36 (2005): pp. 45-78; 39 (2008): pp. 99-119; 40 (2009): pp. 69-90; 42 (2011): pp. 127–49; 43 (2012): pp. 117-135; 44 (2013): pp. 309-325; 45 (2014): pp. 283-296; 46 (2015): pp. 419-439; 47 (2016): pp. 225-239; 48 (2017): pp. 299-319; 49 (2018): pp. 203-117; 50 (2019): pp. 347-360; 51 (2020): pp. 269-285; 52 (2021): pp. 179-202. As for the fifth article, see note 1 above. The complete titles of those articles are omitted here for the sake of brevity.

3 The lacuna is found in al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 192, ll.5-6/H f. 96r/T f. 97r. For the mention and representation of the lacuna and the MSS, see the first article dealing with this segment, S. Nomoto, “Abraham and Moses’ Recognition of the Earthly and Celestial Hierarchies 1: Translation of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 16-(1),” in *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 52 (2021): p. 183 n. 3, and n. 1 in the translation part of the present article, below.

4 For the bibliographical reference of the first subsection, see the previous note above.

5 Nomoto, “Abraham and Moses’ Recognition... 1,” p. 183.

6 For his discussion on the verses 6: 80-83, see al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 192-193/H f. 97r-v/T f. 97r-v and on the verse 2:158, see *ibid.*, pp. 193-195/H. ff. 97v-98v/T ff. 97v-98v.

al-Rāzī continues his discussion on the theme of the relation between the celestial angelic hierarchy and its earthly counterpart. For this subsection, his main topic is the issue of the two types of the transmission: on the one hand there is transmission through the *ta'yīd* or revelatory, spiritual “support” and spiritual/inspiring instruction, which the celestial hierarchy bestows directly and specifically upon the prophetic figures such as the enunciator-prophet, his successor or fundament (*asās*) and the imām<sup>7</sup>; on the other hand there is the transmission of spiritual substance (*mādda*) or benefit also from the celestial hierarchy. The latter type of transmission is called *jārī* (“spiritual stream” or just “stream”).<sup>8</sup> This term *jārī* seems to be more specifically used to denote the transmission of spiritual substance or benefit to the members of the community of the true religion. The limit of the prophet’s perception or recognition of higher angelic beings, another motif discussed in this subsection on the relation of the two hierarchies, is not directly discussed in the present subsection.

Verse 6: 80 speaks about Abraham’s accusation of idolatry against his polytheist people, which forms the sequel of the story in the verses 75-79 of the same *sūra*, namely, his denial of the divinity of astral bodies, and of the moon and the sun, which

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7 On the concept of *ta'yīd*, see D. De Smet, *La philosophie ismaélienne: un ésotérisme chiite enter néoplatonisme et gnose* (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 2012), pp. 127-128; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismā'īlīya: Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis* (Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, 1978), p. 53 n. 1; P. E. Walker, *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 117-119. I translate *ta'yīd* as “spiritual support” to keep its literal meaning. Other translations of *ta'yīd* are “Bestätigung” (Halm) and “inspiration” (De Smet and Walker).

8 On *jārī* as a technical term introduced by al-Rāzī, see S. Nomoto, “Early Ismā'īlī Thought on Prophecy According to the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. ca. 322/934-5)” (Ph. D. Dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 1999), pp. 194-203: The following references are based on this study. For other examples of the use of *jārī* see al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 180/H f. 90r/T f. 90r, pp. 193-194/H f. 98r/T f. 98v, pp. 233-234/H f. 117r-v/T. ff. 117r-118r, p. 270/H f. 138v/T f. 137v, and p. 314/H f. 159r-v/T ff. 157v-158r. Cf. examples of possible use of *jārī* as a technical term by Ja'far b. Maṣūn al-Yaman (d. ca. 346/957) in his *Sarā'ir wa-Asrār al-Nuṭaqā'*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1404 A.H./1984 C.E.), pp. 22, 24, 197.

leads to his final declaration of a monotheist faith.<sup>9</sup> Interpreting of the subsequent verses 80-83 al-Rāzī uses the above-mentioned motif of the “stream”, that is, the transmission of the spiritual “substance” (*mādda*) or of the spiritual benefit from the celestial hierarchy to its counterpart on earth. By so doing al-Rāzī suggests that the followers of the antagonist of the true religion will be deprived of this spiritual “stream” and that their leader, that is, the antagonist, does not gain any of the above-mentioned spiritual support (*ta’yīd*), the reception of which is privilege bestowed upon the highest dignitaries on earth.<sup>10</sup>

For the interpretation of the verse 2: 258 al-Rāzī also uses the motifs of the transmission or the “stream” and the reception of the *ta’yīd*. This verse relates Abraham’s dispute over God with a sovereign of his day who claimed the prerogative to kill and grant life to whomever he liked in contrast to Abraham’s saying: “My Lord who grants life and death.” Finally, Abraham said to him: “Indeed God brings the Sun from the east; then bring it from the west” which made his opponent in dispute “confounded” (*bahata*).<sup>11</sup> According to al-Rāzī Abraham’s Lord “who grants life and

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9 For the general meaning of the verses on Abraham in the Qur’ān and the interpretations of them in the later Muslim exegetical and literary traditions, see, for example: H. Busse, “Abraham,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, edited by K. Fleet, G. Krämer, D. Matringe, J. Nawas, E. Rowson (consulted online on 31 January 2022 [http://dx.doi.org.kras1.lib.keio.ac.jp/10.1163/1573-3912\\_ei3\\_COM\\_0165](http://dx.doi.org.kras1.lib.keio.ac.jp/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_0165); First published online: 2008; first print edition: 9789004161658, 2008, 2008-1); R. Paret, “Ibrāhīm,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (consulted online on 31 January 2022 [http://dx.doi.org.kras1.lib.keio.ac.jp/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_3430](http://dx.doi.org.kras1.lib.keio.ac.jp/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3430); First published online: 2012; First print edition: ISBN: 9789004161214, 1960-2007); R. Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qur’ān and Muslim Literature*, tr. M. Robertson (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2002), pp.7-16, 23-27, 53-55; B. M. Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran: An Introduction to the Quran and Muslim Exegesis* (New York/London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 83-108. Al-Rāzī’s interpretation of the verses 6: 75-79 can be found in the first subsegment of the present section in his *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 189-192/H ff. 94v-96v/T ff. 95v-97r (English translation by S. Nomoto in his “Abraham and Moses’ Recognition... 1,” pp. 196-202).

10 Al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, p. 193/H. f. 97r-v/T f. 97v.

11 In the Muslim tradition of exegetical literature, the sovereign of his day who disputed with Abraham about God in 2: 258 is often identified with Nimrod (Namrūd, also Nimrūd or

death” in the verse is the “Follower” (*Tālī*), that is, the Universal Soul (*Nafs*) in early Muslim Neoplatonist terminology. Thus in his interpretation the Soul takes the role of the “Lord” of the revelation who bestows spiritual life upon the dignitaries by granting them the revelatory, spiritual support. This means that it could also spiritually kill them by depriving them of spiritual support.<sup>12</sup>

Concerning the above interpretation, needless to say, we should mention that al-Rāzī interprets “God” in the Qur’ān as the Universal Soul. We can find a cause of this comparison of God to one of the high hypostases in Neoplatonism in thorough Ismā’īlī apophatic (or negative) theology which emphasizes on the absolute impossibility of the human mind to recognize the transcendent God. Because of this the “God” in the Qur’ān must not be understood in a literal sense: rather, God in the Scripture is interpreted as one of the highest hypostases in Neoplatonist cosmology.<sup>13</sup>

In a similar vein al-Rāzī interprets another sentence from the same verse: “Indeed God brings the Sun from the east; then bring it from the west.” According to him, this means:

Thus the “God” is indicative of the Follower which God installed and with which He spiritually supports [the people on] the hierarchical ranks. ...(...)... The “east” here is indicative of the completer (*mutimm*), and the “west” is indicative of the lieutenant (*lāḥiq*, pl. *lawāḥiq*). Therefore His saying—He be exalted!—is as

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Namrūdh), a Biblical figure who was the grandson of Ham (son of Noah) and a king of some regions in South and North Mesopotamia according to Genesis 10: 6-13. On this episode of Abraham’s life, see: Busse, “Abraham”; B. Heller, “Namrūd,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (consulted online on 31 January 2022 [http://dx.doi.org.kras1.lib.keio.ac.jp/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_5791](http://dx.doi.org.kras1.lib.keio.ac.jp/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5791); First published online: 2012; First print edition: ISBN: 9789004161214, 1960-2007); R. Paret, “Ibrāhīm”; Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qur’ān*, pp. 27, 55 n. 26; Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, pp. 92-93.

12 Al-Rāzī, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, pp. 192-193/H. f. 97r-v /T f. 97r-v.

13 On the issue of the 10<sup>th</sup> century Ismā’īlī apophatic exegesis of the tern “God” in the Qur’ān, see S. Nomoto, “The Early Ismā’īlī-Shī’ī Notion of the World-Maker: The Intellect, the Soul, and the Lord of Creation and Revelation,” *Horizons: Soul Journal of Humanities* 3: 1-2 (2012): pp. 195-220.

follows: “Indeed God brings the Sun from the east...”; That is to say, the Follower spiritually supports the completer, so that the spiritual stream (*jārī*) shines from him upon the lieutenants. ...(...)... [W]hat shone upon me from the Follower had already set from you. Then, if you are a trustworthy person, manifest that matter and make open the following: how is it revealed to you?<sup>14</sup>

In other words, the word “God” represents the Follower (as seen above), and the “sun” He causes to rise and set is the *ta’yīd* or spiritual support. The “sun” rises and sheds its shine, that is, the spiritual stream, from the “east,” namely, from the completer (another title for the imām), and sets and loses its shine onto the “west,” namely, the lieutenant (each of the twelve lieutenants ranked right below the imām).

In the interpretation of the verse 2: 258 quoted above al-Rāzī discusses on the issue of the limited scope of the influence of the revelatory spiritual support from the Universal Soul. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century Ismā’īlī doctrines the imām is in fact the limit of the rank at which one can be called “one spiritually supported” (*mu’ayyad*) who can receive the “support” from the celestial hierarchy.<sup>15</sup> Consequently the dignitaries right below the lieutenants are in a delicate, difficult position. Can they receive the spiritual support from him? If they can, can they “relay” it to those below them? In relation to this issue, al-Rāzī states that the lieutenants can receive the “shine” of the spiritual support from the imām but the support “sets” in them. In other words, according to the theory of the revelation developed by al-Rāzī, the lieutenants cannot transmit spiritual support to the ranks below them because the scope of its influence ends with them.<sup>16</sup>

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14 Ibid., pp. 194-195/H f. 98r/T f. 98r-v.

15 See for example: Abū Ya‘qūb al-Sijistānī, *Ithbāt al-Nubūwwāt*, ed. W. Madelung and P. Walker (Tehran: Kitāb al-Bayān Publication and Institute of Islamic Studies—McGill University, 2016), pp. 149, 194. See also Nomoto, “Early Ismā’īlī Thought on Prophecy,” pp. 191-192; Walker, *Early Philosophical Shiism*, pp. 118, 184 n. 32.

16 This idea can be supported by the remark of an Ismā’īlī thinker who wrote in Persian, Muḥammad b. Sorkh Nīshāpūrī’s (fl. 4/10<sup>th</sup> century) remark on the scope of the *ta’yīd* in contrast to *ta’līm* or instruction. He suggests that there are four metaphorical categories of human beings: one whom he compares to an “angel” (*firishṭa*); one whom he compares to a

Al-Rāzī's idea of the function of *ta'yīd* and of the fact that it ends at the rank of the lieutenants suggests another question: In what way did al-Rāzī, a non-Fāṭimid Ismā'īlī missionary activist, think the lieutenants could obtain the teaching and guidance of divine origin? It can be assumed that this question remained open at least for a few decades the first half of the 4/10<sup>th</sup> century this question.

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“fairy” (*parī*); the human being (*ādāmī*); and one whom he compares to a “devil” (*dīw*). Those who belong to the first category are the prophets (*paygambarān*), the will-executors (*waṣīyān*; or fundaments), and the imams: they can acquire knowledge through *ta'yīd* or inspiring and spiritual support and transmit it to others, Those in the second category can acquire knowledge through *ta'yīd* but transmit it to others through *ta'līm*. The human beings acquire and transmit knowledge only through *ta'līm* (namely, through the training of intellectual activity and bodily practice of faith). The last category are those who do not base any religious matter on *ta'līm*. The people of the second category, who can have access of both *ta'yīd* and *ta'līm*, require more clarification. Although they are not identified, they can be interpreted as being the lieutenants in entity because they are people working for religious instruction of the ordinary people fully on *ta'līm*. See Muḥammad b. Sorkh Nīshāpūrī, Chapter 11 “On Angel, Fairy and Devil” (*Andar Firishtah u-Parī u-Dīw*), *Sharḥ-i Qaṣīdah-i Fārsī Abū al-Haytham Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Jurjānī*, ed. H. Corbin and M. Mu'in (Tehran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien/Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1955), pp. 27-35, especially p.35. See also Nomoto, “Early Ismā'īlī Thought on Prophecy,” pp. 193-194.

Endnote: With deep gratitude we humbly dedicate the present issue of this series of the English translation of the *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī to the memory of the late Professor Hamdani. This translation project could not have started and could not continue without his generous permission to use the manuscript of the text in his possession and continuous support of the author's research on it. I pray for the eternal repose of his soul in peace.



**Translation of  
Fourth Segment of  
Chapter on Ishmael and Isaac  
from  
Part Three of *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*  
by  
Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī**

1. The edition of the text used for this translation is:

Abu Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*. Edited by Ḥasan Mīnūchihr [and] prepared for publication by Mehdī Moḥaghegh. Tehran, 1998. Hereafter this edition is referred to as the “printed edition” or “printed ed.” The printed edition is based on the following three manuscripts:

MS Tehran-Markazī, F 1413 (microfilm) and 6180/1-2 (photocopy), Markazī Library, University of Tehran represented as A (*alif*) in the printed edition;

MS Tehran-Markazī, F. 1507 (microfilm) and 6087-6088 (photocopy), Markazī Library, University of Tehran represented as B (*bā*);

MS Mīnūchihr, Tehran represented as J (*jīm*). We consulted the notes in the printed edition, which cites variants from these manuscripts.

2. In addition to the printed edition, we consulted the following two manuscripts:

MS Hamdani, Institute of Ismaili Studies, London (originally in Milwaukee, Wis.) abbreviated as H; and MS Tübingen, Ma VI 327, Universität Tübingen (University of Tübingen) abbreviated as T.

3. For readers’ reference, the pages numbers of the printed edition, and the folio numbers of the MS Hamdani and MS Tübingen are shown in the translation of the text, and also some of the variants of MSS A, B, and J, and MSS H and T are

shown in the translation, in which case we reproduce the variants shown in the notes by the editor(s) in transliteration.

4. The symbol [ ] indicates a word or a phrase which is a suggested reconstruction of the text.
5. The symbol (= ) indicates an explanatory word or phrase which we have supplemented for a better understanding of the preceding word or phrase.
6. We follow the paragraph structure in the printed edition.
7. When a Qur'ānic verse is quoted or referred to in the main text and footnote, the abbreviation "Q" is mentioned first, then its chapter (*sūra*) number followed by its verse(s) (*āya*, pl. *āyāt*) number(s). We have translated the Qur'ānic verses quoted in al-Rāzī's text in consultation with the following English translations: M. A. S. Abdel Haleem (transl.), *The Qur'an* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) abbreviated as Abdel Haleem; A. J. Arberry (transl.), *The Koran Interpreted*, 2 vols (London: Allen and Unwin, 1957; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford World Classics, 1983) abbreviated as Arberry; A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an* (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf Publishers, 1934; reprint, n.p; Islamic Propagation Center International, n. d.) abbreviated as Yusuf Ali. In addition, we also consulted: T. Izutsu (Japanese transl.), *Kōran*, 3 vols (Tokyo: Iwanami Publishers, 1964) abbreviated as Izutsu; K. Nakata and K. Shimomura under the direction of H. K. Nakata, *Nichi-A Taiyaku Qur'an (The Qur'an in the Arabic Original and Japanese Translation)* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2014) abbreviated as Nakata; J. Berque (French transl.), *Le Coran: Essai de traduction de l'arabe*, édition revue et corrigée (Paris: Albin Michel, 1990) abbreviated as Berque; and R. Paret (German transl.), *Der Koran, Übersetzung von Rudi Paret*, 12. Auflage (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014) abbreviated as Paret.

## Translation

(P. 192) (H f. 97r) (T f. 97r)

.....<sup>1</sup>  
The another group is the people who violated [the limit of the condition bestowed upon them], claimed [their right] for other than it, disdained and struggled with him. That is to say: Which one of us more deserves feeling safe from<sup>2</sup> downfall and being cut off from his work with the expiration of the spiritual substance (*mādda*) from him?

“If you know...” (Q 6: 81). That is, if you are<sup>3</sup> spiritually supported (*mu’ayyadūn*) with that with which you know<sup>4</sup> this position, do unveil it, if [the spiritual substance] flows onto those whom you called to [this true teaching], and that with which you recognize the realities of these matters is distributed among you.

“[As for] those who believed and did not mix up<sup>5</sup> their belief with any evil mind, they have safety, because they are rightly guided” (Q 6: 82).

“Those who believe.” That is to say, as for those whom he put in order in his hierarchy and bestowed benefit upon, they grant safety (T f. 97v) to the people of the Missionary Call (*ahl al-da’wa*) with what the former disclose to the latter.

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1 Before the phrase “the another group” (*al-farīq al-ākhar*) there is a note on the margin in the MSS A, B and H: “Concerning the original it is known that one leaf of paper is missing” (*nabaha fī al-umm anna hāhunā saqaṭat waraqa*); the phrase *anna hāhunā* is missing from B and H. See S. Nomoto, “Abraham and Moses’ Recognition of the Earthly and Celestial Hierarchies 1: Translation of the *Kitāb al-Islāh* by Abū Hātim al-Rāzī 16-(1),” in *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 52 (2021): p. 202 n. 126.

2 “That is to say: Which one of us more deserves feeling safe from...”: *Ay ayyunā awlā bi-an ya’mana*. A, B, and H have this. J and T have: *Ay ayyunā awlā bi-an mā min* (?).

3 “That is, if you are...”: *Ay in kuntum*. A has this. B has *in kuntum*. H has *ay kuntum*. J and T have *Ay in kuntum*.

4 “that with which you know...”: *mā ta’rifūna bi-hi*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *mā ta’rifūna*.

5 “[those who...] did not mix up”: *wa-lam yalbisū*. Abdel Haleem: “do not mix.” Arberry: “have not confounded.” Paret: “verdunkeln.” I follow Abdel Haleem and Arberry.

“...[B]ut [they] did not mix up their belief with any evil mind.” It has been said in the exegesis: “the evil mind here is the polytheist faith.” That is to say, they dedicated missionary work<sup>6</sup> to him but did not do so with any other association [to him]; otherwise he would have made missionary call<sup>7</sup> for other than him with some association with him.

(P. 193) “... they have safety...,” that is to say, they are provided with<sup>8</sup> spiritual support, and their share from the spiritual stream (*jārī*) is distributed among them, and they feel safety from the doubts and suspicions, and from the decline such as the decline the violators face.<sup>9</sup>

And His saying<sup>10</sup>: “...because they are rightly guided,” that is to say: for their following<sup>11</sup> of the share from the spiritual stream which is distributed among them.

“That is our argument<sup>12</sup>: We gave it to Abraham against his people,<sup>13</sup> thus raising the grades of any people as We like: Your Lord is indeed wise and omniscient” (Q 6: 83), that is, he became being able to prevail<sup>14</sup> upon them, then disputing them, when he was supported with the spiritual stream.<sup>15</sup> [While] his position was lifted up, he

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6 “missionary work”: *al-da’wa*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *li-da’wa*.

7 “They would have made missionary call...”: *Fa-yad’ū* (with extra *alif*) which all the manuscripts have: we follow this reading. The printed edition reads: *fa-yad’ū* (without extra *alif*).

8 “they are provided with...”: *yumaddūna*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *yadūna* (?).

9 “[T]he decline such as the decline the violators face”: *ka-mā saqaṭa man nakatha* (“just as those who violated [the norm] fell”). As for *ka-mā saqaṭa* (“[the norm] fell”), A, B, and H have this. J and T have *ka-mā yasqūtu*.

10 “And His saying”: *wa-qawlu-hu*. A has this. B, H, J and T have *wa-qawlu-hum*.

11 “for their following”: *li-iqtidā’i-him*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *iqtidā’u-hum*.

12 “our argument”: *hujjatu-nā*. Abdel Haleem: “the argument.” Arberry: “our argument.” Berque: “notre argument.” Paret: “unser Beweisgrund.” Izutsu: “giron” (argument). I follow Arberry and Berque.

13 “against his people”: *’alā qawmi-hi*. Abdel Haleem and Arberry: “against his people.” Berque: “contre son peuple.” Paret: “gegen seine Leute.” I follow Berque and Paret as well as Abdel Haleem and Arberry.

14 “That is, he became being able to prevail”: *ay qawiya*. A has this. B and H have *ay yaqwā*. J and T have *ay yaqūlu*.

15 “[H]e was supported with the spiritual stream”: *uyyida bi-al-jārī*. A, B, H and T have

stood in his prayer niche, thus going into conjunction with the two roots (*al-Aṣlān*). (H f. 97v) [Then] the spiritual substance was deprived from those who<sup>16</sup> struggled with him, and then the proof turned to him against them. He became<sup>17</sup> a spiritually supported person (*mu'ayyad*) who had already been given a proof against them, whereas they were left with no aide<sup>18</sup> because they were deprived from the spiritual substance. This is the meaning<sup>19</sup> of His saying—He be mighty and glorious<sup>20</sup>—in another verse on the story of Abraham—Peace be upon him: “Did you not consider the man who disputed with Abraham on his Lord that God bestowed the kingship on him?” (Q 2: 258) till the end of the verse. Therefore the man who disputed with Abraham about God is the antagonist (*didd*)<sup>21</sup> who struggled with him and claimed that the authority belonged to himself<sup>22</sup> with the exclusion of him [that is,] Abraham (T f. 98r) in that age.

“... that God bestowed the kingship on him...,” that is to say; when Abraham controlled<sup>23</sup> a part of the spiritual stream and summoned them<sup>24</sup> to the practice of the submission [to him], (p. 194) this antagonist disputed with him and claimed the similar [right] for himself. Therefore Abraham said: “My Lord is He who grants life

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this. J has *ayyada-nā al-jārī*.

16 “from those who...”: *‘amman*. A and H have this. B, J and T have *‘an man*.

17 “He became...”: *wa-kāna*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *fa-kāna*.

18 “whereas they became...”: *wa-hum ṣārū*. B has this. A, H, J and T have *wa-hum*.

19 “This is the meaning”: *wa-huwa ma ‘nā*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *ma ‘nā*.

20 “He be mighty and glorious”: *‘azza wa-jalla*. B, J and T have this but is missing from A. H has in abbreviated form: *‘J*.

21 “...on his Lord that God bestowed the kingship on him?” till the end of the verse. Therefore the man who disputed with Abraham on God is the antagonist (*didd*): *‘...fī Rabbi-hi an atā-hu Allāh al-malik, ‘ilā ākhiri-hā. Fa-alladhī ḥājja Ibrāhīm fī Rabbi-hi huma al-ḍidd*. A, B, H and T have this. J has *fī Rabbi-hi huma al-ḍidd*.

22 “the authority belonged to himself”: *al-amr la-hu*. A and B have this. H, J and T have *al-amr la-hu*.

23 “...and when Abraham controlled”: *lammā malaka*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *lammā*.

24 “...and [he] summoned them”: *wa-da ‘ā-hum*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *wa-wa ‘ā-hum*.

and death” (Q 2: 258). [Thus] he made his antagonist recognize that he had already gone into conjunction with the Follower (*al-Tālī*), who grants spiritual support to anyone whom it raises up and gives him life with the spiritual stream,<sup>25</sup> [whereas] it cuts off the spiritual substance from anyone who falls<sup>26</sup> until he dies. [In addition] he (=Abraham) promised him (=his antagonist) that if he denied the submission, he would cut him off [from any relation], and that he would hence fall onto the rank of the dead.

“He said: I grant life and death.” He (=the antagonist) asserted that he benefits anyone whom he loves, so that he grants him the life with what he obtained, and that he hinders anyone he likes from [his] spiritual substance’s being deprived of<sup>27</sup>: otherwise he would die. This is just as they say in the exegesis on [the saying:] “I grant life and death,” that is, “I will kill anyone I want to do so<sup>28</sup> among those who do not have to be killed; then I will put him to death [on the one hand]. [On the other hand] I will forgive those who deserve to be killed; then I will enliven him. That is to say, he claimed that he would affiliate<sup>29</sup> those whom he wanted among the hypocrites with himself, and yet if there is anyone who deserves (**H f. 98r**) being brought together,<sup>30</sup> he rejects him.

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25 “[The Follower] gives him life with the spiritual stream”: *fa-yuḥyīhi bi-al-jārī*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *fa-tuḥyīhi bi-al-jārī*.

26 “[...[anyone who] falls”: *yasquṭu*. A, J, H and T have this. B has *saqaṭa* (?).

27 “[his spiritual substance’s] being deprived of”: *tanqaṭi’a*. This reading is a reconstruction suggested by the editors of the printed edition upon consideration of the context. A and T have *li-yanqaṭi’a*. B and H have *yanqaṭi’a*. J has *li-tanqaṭi’a*. Cf. the editors’ note on l. 6 on p. 194.

28 “[T]hat is, I will kill anyone I want”: *ay aqtulu man aḥbabtu*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *ay man ujībatu* (?).

29 “he claimed that he would affiliate”: *idda’ā* (ending with *alif maqṣūra*) *anna-hu yaḍummu*. A and H have this. B has *idda’ā* (ending with *alif* of long vowel a) *anna-hu yaḍummu*. J and T have *idda’ā* (ending with *alif* of long vowel a) *anna-hu bi-ḍamm* (?).

30 “Yet if there is anyone who deserves being brought together”: *man istawjaba al-waṣla*. This reading is a reconstruction suggested by the editors of the printed edition upon consideration of the context. A, H and T have *mimman istawjaba al-waṣla*. B has *li-man istawjaba al-waṣla*. J has *mimman istawjaba al-raṣla*.

“Abraham said: ‘Indeed God brings the Sun from the east; then bring it from the west’”<sup>31</sup> (Q 2: 258). Thus “God”<sup>32</sup> is indicative of the Follower which God installed<sup>33</sup> and with which He spiritually supports [the people on] the hierarchical ranks. It is also that which He made into the means for Himself and that which He calls with His name, just as He—He be mighty and glorious— said: “Whoever obeys the Apostle<sup>34</sup> obeys God” (Q 4: 80). The “east” here (T f. 98v) is indicative of the completer (*mutimm*), and the “west” is indicative of the lieutenant (*lāḥiq*, pl. *lawāḥiq*). Therefore His—He be exalted!—saying is as follows: “Indeed<sup>35</sup> God brings the Sun from the east...”; That is to say, the Follower spiritually supports the completer, so that the spiritual stream shines from him upon the lieutenants.<sup>36</sup> Hence, if you are spiritually supported from its (=the Follower’s) side as you claim, manifest that (=spiritual support) on the rank of the lieutenants into whom the spiritual stream sets,<sup>37</sup> so that we know<sup>38</sup> that you are trustworthy in your claim. It is because you have already known (p. 195) what happened to me: what shone upon me from the Follower had already set<sup>39</sup> from you. Then, if you are a trustworthy person, manifest that matter and make open the following: how is it revealed to you?

“So the man who disbelieved became confounded”<sup>40</sup> (Q 2: 258). That is to say, the

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31 With regards to the translation of this passage from Q 2: 258, I follow Abdel Haleem and Arberry.

32 “Thus ‘God’”: *fa-Allāh*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *wa-Allāh*.

33 “God installed”: *aqāma-hu Allāh*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *aqāma-hu*.

34 “the Apostle”: *al-rasūl*. Abdel Haleem and Arberry: “the Messenger. Berque: “l’Envoyé.” Paret: “[der] Gesandte.” Izutsu and Nakata: “shito” (apostle).

35 “[His]—He be exalted!—[saying is as follows]: ‘Indeed’ ”: *ta’ālā: fa-inna...* This reading is a reconstruction suggested by the editors of the printed edition upon consideration of the context and the actual Qur’ānic text. A and B have *ta’ālā: inna*. H, J and T have *inna*.

36 “upon the lieutenants”: *’alā al-lawāḥiq*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *’alā al-lāḥiq*.

37 “into whom [the spiritual stream] sets”: *alladhīna yaḡhrubu*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *alladhīna yaḡfrutu*.

38 “so that we know”: *li-na’lama*. A and H have this. B has *wa-lī-na’lama*. J and T have *li-na’lama*.

39 “[It] had already set”: *qad ḡharaba*. A, B and H have this. J and T have *qad ḡhurūb*.

40 “So... became confounded”: *fa-bahata*. Abdel Haleem: “...was dumbfounded.” Arberry:

proof of the man who denied his own hierarchical limit (*ḥadda-hu*) was taken away [from him] and became arrogant.

“And God does not guide the oppressing people” (Q 2: 258). Then “God” is indicative of the Follower as has been in the exegesis.

“[God] does not guide the oppressing people,” that is, anyone who infringes<sup>41</sup> and puts the truth in a place inappropriate to it and does not recognize the position of person whom God appointed; he is not supported with the spiritual stream<sup>42</sup> which is the guidance, the light and the evidence. Consequently his proof is cut off [from him],<sup>43</sup> just as the proof of this antagonist was cut off. This holy verse<sup>44</sup> thus resembles it (=the proof) in the story of Abraham on his dispute with his people (**H f. 98v**); they were those in the hierarchy who were pillars in the mission community, as we explained above, until they made claim [for themselves and] for the antagonist and denied his position, as we have already commented above.

The following statement is not correct: “Abraham indeed made an address to his people (**T f. 99r**) in whose midst he was<sup>45</sup> because they associated a [certain] partner to the Preceder (*al-Sābiq*), granting it the status of the Creator (*al-Bāri*)”—He be mighty and exalted.”

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“Then...was confounded.” Yusuf Ali: “Thus was he confounded.” Berque: “Confondu fut.” Paret: “...war...verdutzt.” I follow Arberry and Berque.

41 “Then ‘God’ is indicative of the Follower as has been in the exegesis. ‘[God] does not guide the oppressing people.’ That is, anyone who infringes”: *Fa-Allāh ‘alā al-tālī ka-mā qad taqaddama al-tafsīr bi-hi. ‘Lā yahdī al-qawm al-zālimīn.’ Ay man nakatha.*” A, H, J and T have this. B has *ay man nakatha*.

42 “[A person] whom God appointed: he is not supported with the spiritual stream”: *aqāma-hu Allāh lā yu ‘ayyadu bi-al-jārī.* A, B, H and T have this. J has *iqāmat Allāh lā yurīdu bi-al-jārī.* T has *iqāmat Allāh lā yurīdu al-jārī.*

43 “... and the evidence. Consequently [the proof for him] is cut off [from him]...”: *wa-al-burhān. Fa-tanqaṭi ‘u...* This reading is a reconstruction suggested by the editors of the printed edition upon consideration of the context. A, B and H have *wa-al-burhān. Fa-yanqaṭi ‘u...* J and T have *wa-al-burkān (?)*. *Fa-yanqaṭi ‘u...*

44 “This holy verse”: *Fa-hādhī al-āya.* A, H, J and T have this. B has *Fa-hādhā al-āya.*

45 “he was”: *kāna.* B, H, J and T have this. A has *kānū* (ending with extra *alif*).



This is incorrect.<sup>46</sup> For no one among the people claims this kind of thing, either openly or esoterically. We do not know<sup>47</sup> anyone who has appointed the Preceder as a substitute of the Creator [Himself] —He be mighty and exalted— because anyone who recognizes the hierarchy in its inner meaning has already known that the Preceder<sup>48</sup> is not the Creator and have already recognized these and other grades of people. Therefore, whoever<sup>49</sup> does not recognize these truths, he recognizes neither the Preceder nor the Follower. Then, how does any of them appoint the Preceder to the position of the Creator [Himself] —He be exalted!<sup>50</sup> We have already stated (p. 196) on this one<sup>51</sup> and on those who go astray with the saying<sup>52</sup> of the sage (*al-hakīm*) on the matter of the Two Roots (*al-Aṣṣlān*) and are ignorant of the creed of the Unity (*tawhīd*) of the Creator—He be glorious and exalted far high above what the unjust people would say.

With regard to those we have commented upon in this book, there is sufficiency (=enough talk) [on them], God willing—with Him there be the might and the power.

[There is] the [following false] saying on Lot (Lūt)<sup>53</sup> —his fate was developed in accompany with Abraham, which means that while Lot was an Imam, Abraham appeared with the apostleship; Lot thus surrendered himself to him. Likewise the

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46 “This is incorrect”: *Dhālika huwa khaṭa’*. A, H and T have this. B has *Wa-dhālika huwa khaṭa’*. J has *Wa-dhālika huwa ḥaṭā’ (?)*.

47 “We do not know”: *Lā na ‘rifu*. A has this. B, H, J and T have *Lā ya ‘rifu*.

48 “... that the Preceder”: *anna al-Sābiq*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *al-Sābiq*.

49 “...other grades of people. Therefore, whoever...”: *sā’ir marātib al-nās. Fa-man...* This reading is a reconstruction suggested by the editors of the printed edition upon the consideration of context. A and H have *sā’ir al-nās mimman...* B and T have *sā’ir marātib al-nās mimman...* J has *sā’ir al-marātib al-nās mimman...*

50 “He be exalted”: *ta’ālā*. B has this. A, H, J and T do not have this word.

51 “this one”: *hādhā*. Could he be identified with a monarchical person who disputed with Abraham in the verse 2; 258? We can not have clear identification of the person in this passage.

52 “with the saying”: *bi-qawl*. B, J and T have this. A has *yaqūl*. H has the reading which resembles both *bi-qawl* and *yaqūl* but lacks any *nuqta* (dot) on the first letter.

53 “Lot”: *Lūt*. A, H and T have this. B has *Lūṭā*. J has *Lū*.

attribute of John was<sup>54</sup> developed in the company of Jesus. Then, [there is] the saying on the story of Jesus is that John was all of a sudden spirited away (**H f. 99r**) before he submitted<sup>55</sup> the authority to Jesus; and what occurs as the false in this section. Therefore we will mention him later, at the time of mention of the holders of those grades, and we will comment on the saying<sup>56</sup> on him, God willing——with Him there be the might and the power.

The third part of *The Book of Correction* has ended with the praise of God and by His grace. May God bless His apostle, the Prophet Muḥammad, his will-executor (*waṣī-hi*),<sup>57</sup> and his close friends (*awliyā'u-hum*)<sup>58</sup> —— the blessing of God be upon them! May He grant him full salvation! It suffices us to believe in God: What an excellent representative He is!<sup>59</sup>

54 “and likewise [the attribute of John] was”: *wa-hākadhā kānat*. B, H, J and T have this. A has *wa-hākadhā*.

55 “[before] he submitted”: *taslīmi-hi*. A, H, J and T have this. B has *taslīm*.

56 “the saying”: *al-qawl*. A, B, and H have this. J and T have *al-'uqūl*.

57 In accordance with the context this can be interpreted to be the Prophet’s “will-executor,” that is, ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, the fundament (*asās*) appointed by him.

58 They are the imams.

59 “...[by] His grace. May God bless His apostle, the Prophet Muḥammad, his will-executor (*waṣī-hi*), and his close friends —— The blessing of God be upon them! May He grant him full salvation! It suffices us to believe in God: What an excellent representative He is”: ... *manni-hi, wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā rasūli-hi, Muḥammad al-nabī, wa-‘alā waṣī-hi wa-awliyā’i-hi, ṣalawāt Allāh ‘alay-him. wa-sallama taslīman. Ḥasbunā Allāh wa-ni‘ma al-wakīl*. This reading is a reconstruction suggested by the editors of the printed edition upon the consideration of the context. A has ... *manni-hi, wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā rasūli-hi, Muḥammad al-nabī, wa-‘alā waṣī-hi wa-awliyā’i-hi, ṣalawāt Allāh ‘alay-him al-juz’ al-rābi’ min Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*. B has ... *manni-hi, wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā rasūli-hi, Muḥammad al-nabī, wa-‘alā waṣī-hi wa-awliyā’i-hi, ṣalawāt Allāh ‘alay-him wa-sallama taslīman. Ḥasbunā Allāh wa-ni‘ma al-wakīl wa-ni‘ma al-mawlā wa- ni‘ma al-naṣīr wa-lā ḥawl wa-qūwa illā bi-Allāh al-‘Alī al-‘Azīm ṣalli ‘alā sayyidi-nā Muḥammad wa-āli-hi al-īḥirīn al-juz’ al-rābi’ min Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*. H and T have *manni-hi, wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā rasūli-hi, Muḥammad al-nabī, wa-‘alā waṣī-hi wa-awliyā’i-hi, ṣalawāt Allāh ‘alay-him. wa-sallama taslīman. Ḥasbunā Allāh wa-ni‘ma al-wakīl al-juz’ al-rābi’ min Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*. J has *manni-hi, wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā rasūli-hi, Muḥammad al-nabī, wa-‘alā waṣī-hi wa-awliyā’i-hi, ṣalawāt Allāh ‘alay-him. wa-sallama taslīman*.

